The Compromise Measures Mr. Poote and the States' Rights Party-Buchanan and Doug-las-Mileage-Public Lands and Public Improvements-The Kossuth and Long Cor-

ndence, &c. WASHINGTON, Tuesday, Feb. 17, 1852. The delay occasioned by the protracted voting upon the Mileage yesterday prevented the introduction of a resolution by a Member from Kentucky, who designed to offer one similar to the one now before the Senate, indorsing the Compromise. If such a resolution could be brought to a direct vote, it would undoubtedly be laid on the table by a large majority. But it is not unlikely that it would be used as the Senate resolution is used, merely as a peg upon which to hang innumerable speeches. Why any Member should desire to follow the footsteps or the restless Mississippi Senator in the introduction of such a resolution, except it be for purposes of mischief, or for his own personal adantage, we are unable to conjecture. It can. not be for want of a subject upon which to make harangues for Buncombe, for in the House such occasions are easily found. It is not because there is in any quarter the smallest modicum of a belief that any earthly public good can come of such a resolution. The cause of such a movement cannot be sought, we fear, in the private interests and purposes of the individual. Such was the fact in FOOTE's case, who desired to fortify his political position at home by an act of Congress, propping the platform upon which he has been fighting his battles with the States' Rights party of his own State. In his critical position it was almost a matter of life and death with him to bring his party to a vote on the

sealed his fate in Mississippi. It is not unlikely, however, that he was gone, anyway, but without the help of this life-boat it is quite certain he is to be engulphed. There seems to be little or no chance that the Compromise party of Mississippi will ever win another victory under their present volatile and impolitic leader. The next battle will be an Austerlitz victory to the States' Rights party. Such at least is the confident expectation of those who are most interested and best informed upon the subject. The consequence will be, that Mr-FOOTE will be left at home. Now, who would wish to disturb so fair a prospect as this? Who should desire to let down any ladder upon which FOOTE could again climb back to the Senate !-FOOTE reached the summit level of his career on the Compromise measures. Mr. CLAY tended the locks, and let on the water. He was carried up to the highest point, but has been let down again. Like a child at its first dance, he now wishes to "do it again." And all this ado in the Senate about the reenactment of the Compromise measures had its origin in no more noble or elevated purpose than to canal FOOTE over a dif-Scult place into the Senate again. Before his return hence to Mississippi, he begged Senators to come to a vote on his darling project. He considered it the ark of his political salvation He considers it so now. But the floods have come until he is surrounded by the rising waters, and but the faintest hope of escape remains.

question. And his failure to do it has probably

This is, to be sure, a most dignified consideration to prompt the reopening, discussion and agitation of a subject upon which the country desires repose. But as it is here represented so it is in fact. This explanation affords a clue to the indifference felt in the Senate to the fate of the resolution in question. Mr. BADGER has the floor upon it, and he allows the subject to be postponed at anybody's request for any sort of an object. He says he don't care whether he epeaks upon the subject at this session or the next! Yet he is counted one of its friends, and will vote for it if the question should ever come to a vote. It is to be hoped that before another resolution day comes round the idea of introducing this mischievous topic into the House will be abandoned, at least on the part of the Whigs.

The stately and smooth-faced bachelor of Pennsylvania, Hon. JAMES BUCHANAN, is here. His neck was never stiffer, nor his neck-cloth whiter, nor his smile more bland than now, But the number of "Democratic" candidates is so great, that no one absorbs the universal party dmiration. In this respect Gen. Scott is more fortunate. Nobody ever had half so many friends as he has now. His lift is a perpetual bow. Never was his courtly manners and gracious demeanor more thoroughly taxed; but he bears his martyrdom like a saint.

The little Judge (Douglas) has got to be a very nimble competitor among the Loco-Foco aspirants. What with his Irish organs, his Democratic Reviews, and an armful of other strings, each industriously pulled, he makes a formida ble show. But we predict he is overdoing the matter. Vaulting ambition o'erleaps itself and falls on t'other side. But perhaps the little Judge never read Shakspere and don't think of this. Yet to-day there are signs of wavering in his ranks. The late leading article in The Democratic Review on the Presidency of 1852 having given mortal offense in various quarters unfriendly to the Judge's pretensions, and thus done him essential damage, it is now asserted by his friends that the article was a ruse of the enemy, for the especial purpose of hurting the prospects of the small giant. This is a farfetched explanation of that elaborate paper, but it is doubtful if it will go down. It is alleged that the proof sheets have been found in the possession of a gentlemen in this City of known hostility to the Judge. This at least is made clear, that the motions of the under currente among the various Loco-Foco candidates are very brisk and conflicting.

The House was engaged all day on a continu ation of the debate on the preposterous proposition to pay Gen. LANE, the Delegate from Oregon, \$4,000 mileage instead of the \$2,500 now allowed him by law. Nothing in the shape of an argument has been adduced in support of the proposition to make this extraordinary gratuity, excepting the bold statement that the California Members get that sum. As if one wrong were to be considered a reason for the perpetration o another. The arguments against the proposi tion were ably presented by Mr. Toombs and Mr. THADDEUS STEVENS. Mr. WASHBURN, Me. was also found clearly stating his decisive oppo

The Senate debate on the lowa Land Grant was of marked interest. Mr. JOHN BELL followed Mr. HUNTER, of Va., (who made a speech characterized by his usual ability,) with some very searching inquiries, and a further very able exposisition of his own views. Mr. BELL planted himself on the impregnable ground of the constitutional right of the Government to make national improvements on rivers and harbors, and showed with perfect plainness the positive absurdity of the opposite doctrine. Yet he avowed himself opposed to any general system of internal improvements. He contended, however, for the power, and hold it to be entirely a question of espediency as to the appropriations. When Mr. BELL is fairly aroused, he falways handles his subject in a masterly manner, and displays many of the very highest qualities of statesmanship.

Mr. Underwood is to follow to-morrow, and will make a grand onslaught on Mr. SUMNER's immunity of taxation" argument. The Judge threatens its utter extermination, and he is not prone to be boastful.

The Long and Kossuth correspondence does not yet make its appearance in the House. It is so exceedingly voluminous that it occupies a long time in the transcribing. Kossuth is not only a man of many words himself, but he seems to be the cause of great diffuseness of speech in others. Here are some 500 pages of manuscript written to show him through the Mediterranean. It seems likely that the 17th of June will be fixed as the day for the assembling of the Whig Convention, as suggested by the Maine Legis Convention, as suggested by the There are those, however, who prefe a later day, and the 4th of July has been named

A Washington letter-writer asserts hat shortly after Mr. Marsh, our Minister at Constantinople, arrived at his post, the Persian Ambassador at that Court intimated to him that his master, the Schah, was anxious to make a treaty of amity and commerce with the United States, and that he (the Ambassador) was ready to enter into negotiations for that purpose, with any one duly empowered on our part. Mr. Marsh communicated this informa, tion to Mr. Clayton, who forthwith transmitted to Mr. M. the requisite instructions and powers; and accordingly the last arrival from Europe brought home a treaty with Persia, made in conformity with those instructions, in which the United States are placed on a footing with the most favored nations.

Yens and Nays on the Mileage Question. The following are the Yeas and Nays in the House of Representatives, Feb. 17, on the motion to recommit to the Committee on Mileage, the bill reported from that Committee, to repeal the proviso in the act organizing the Territorial Government of Oregon, which limits the mileage of the

perment of Oregon, which limits the mileage of the Delegate to the sum of \$2,500

YEAS—Messrs. Abercombie, Allen, Appleton, Averett, Bavly, Barrere, Beneitt, Bibrhaus, Boyd, Bragg, Brooks, G. H. Brown, Burrows, Cable Caldwell, L. D. Campbell, Catter, Chandler, Chapman, Chastam, Churchwell, Cisveland, Clingman, Colcock, Curtis, Daniel, Dooker, Duncan, Edmundson, Evans, Floyd, Fewier, Giddings, Goodenow, Grow, Hammond Husper, S. W. Harris, Hawa, Haven, Hebard, Hibbard, Houston, J. W. Hows, Hunter, A. Johnson, James Johnson, G. W. Jones, J. G. Jones, G. G. King, Preston King, Kurtz, Meacham, Miller, Millson, Miner, H. D. Moore, Morchend, Murray, Outlaw, Peaslee, Perkins, Robie Backett, Schermerhorn, Schoolcraft, Schordmaker Skelton, Smart, Staniy, Benjamin Stanton, Tunddeus Stevens, Sutherland, Taylor, Benjamia Thompson, Thurston Toombs, Walbridge Wallace, Watkins, Welch, Wildrick, Woodward, Yates—Fotal, 24. NAYs—Messrs, Willis Allen, John Appleton, Ashe, Bailey, Reale, Bisseil, Bawie, Breckenraige, Brenton, Briggs, A. G. Brows, Buell, Busby, Caskie, Clark, Cobb. Davis, Dawsen, Dean, Dinny, Doty, Dunham, Durkes, Eastmas, Kdgetton, Ewing, Fickins, Firch, Fiorence, Ersemm, Thomas J. D. Fuller, Gamble, Gaylord, Gidmore, Grev, Hell, I. G. Harris, Hascail, Hendre'ss, Henn, Holiaday, Howard, How, Jr., Ingersoll, Ives, Jackson, Jenkins, John Johnson, McCorke, Martin, Strober, Stuart, Walsh, Ward, McCe E. C. Marshal, Husphrey Marshall, Mason, McDonald McLanaban, Molony Nabers, Newton Olds, Orr, S. W. Parker, Pennman, Phelps, Polk, Prace, Rentoul, Richardson, Riddle, Robbins, Jr., Robinson, Savage, D. L. Seymour, O. S. Seymour, F. P. Santos, R. H. Santon, A. P. Slevens, Bonce, R. Martin, Strober, Stuart, Walsh, Ward, Millens, Charlett, Gondrich, Gormas, Greev, Hamilton, Hart, Hillyer, Horsford, T. M. Howe, D. T. Jones, Kohns, Landry, Mann, Martin, McCorke, D. T. Jones, Kohns, Landry, Mann, Martin, McCorke, McMullen, McNart, McCuben, McMartin, McCorke, McMullen, McNart, McQueen, Meade, John Moore, Morison, Murphy, A. Parker Delegate to the sum of \$2,500:

The following are the Year and Nays, refusing

Alexander White—Total. 63.

The following are the Yeas and Nays, refusing to order the bill to a third reading:

Yeas—Measts W. Allen, J. Appleton, Ashe, Bailey, Beale, Beil, Birsell, Bragg, Breckennige, Breaten A. G. Brown, Burby, Caskie, Chandler, Clark, Coth, Colock, Daniel, J. G. Davis, Dawson, Disney, Doty, Duncan, Dundam, Eastman, Edustron, Edmundson, Ficklin, Florence, Freemad, H. M. Fuller, T. J. D. Fuller, Gamble, Gaybrad, Gentry, Gimore, Grey, Kail, Hamilton, I. G. Harria, Hendricks, Henn, Holladsy, Howard How, Jr., Ingertoll, Jackson, John Johnson, R. W. Johnson, Letcher, Lockhart, Marc E. C. Marshall, Mason, McDonald, McLambson, McQueen, Moloney, Nabers, Olds, Orr, S. W. Parker, Penn Phelps, Polk, Porter, Price, Rant uil, Jr., Richardson, Rudle, Robinson, D. L. Seymour, Origen S. Seymour, F. P. Stanton, R. H. Stanton, A. P. Stevens, Stone, Louis St. Martin, Stroher, Stuart, Venable, Ward, Williams, Woodward, Yatsa—83.

NAYs—Messrs, Abercrombie, C. Allen, W. Appleton, Averett, Babcock, Bartlett, Jr., Bennett, Bibighaus, Bowis, Hod, Brooks, Burrows, Cable, Caldwell, L. D. Campell, Cartier, Chapman, Chaatsin, Churehwell, L. D. Campell, Cartier, Chapman, Chaatsin, Churehwell, L. Acampell, Cartier, Chapman, Chaatsin, Churehwell, Laven, Hebbard, Hohsert, J. W. Harve, Stuarte, Jeskhas, A. Johnson, James Johnson, G. W. Jones, J. G. Jones, G. King, P. King, Kuttz, Meacham Miller, Milsen, Miner, H. D. Meore, Morehad, Morrison, Murray, Newton, Outlaw, Ferslee Peaninan, Penkins, Robie, Sackett, Schsreerbook, Schoolerstf, Schoonmaker, Studder, Skelton, Smatt, Stanly, B. Stanton, Stephens, T. Stevens, Sweetser, Tayler, B. Thompson, Thurston, Morray, Newton, Outlaw, Ferslee Peaninan, Penkins, Robie, Sackett, Schsreerbook, Martin, Rayle, Riger, Brooch, Rower, Riger, G. H. Albert G. H.

Wallsce, Walsh, Vashdur, Jr., Weich, Alex. White, Wildriek.—30 Absent OR NOT VOTING—Measus. Alken, Adisou, Addrews, Bayly, Sariere, Bachek, Bowee, Biggs G. H. Brown, Buell, Burt, Cabell. T. Campbell, Conger, Cottman, Cullom, Darby, G. T. Davis, Dimmick, Darkee, Faulkner, Goodrich, Gorman, Green, Hart, Hillver, Horsford T. M. Howe, Ives, D. T. Jones, Kuhns, Lendey, Mann, H. Marthail, Mautin, McCorkle, McMullen, McNair, Meade, J. Moore, Murths, A. Parker, Powell, Robbins, Jr., Ross, Russell, Savage, Scurry, Smith, Saow, Stratton, Sutherland G. W. Thompson, Townshend, Tuck, Watkne, Wells, Addison White, Wilcox—37.

New Mail Arrangement between New. York and New-Orleans.

We present to our readers full and perfect schedules of the increased and expedited mail service between New-York and New-Orleans, which is to go into operation on the first day of March next.

ay of March next.
In accordance with the spirit of the age, and desiring to subserve the interests and wishes of the great business communities, both North and South, the Postmaster-General has materially increased his expenditures for mail transportation, by expediting the great mails, when going South from New-York to New-Orleans, centy-four hours, and saving no less than forty ours' time on the return from New-Orleans to New-York.

The northern terminus of this line is New-York, but railroad and steamboat companies between that point and Boston, and even further north, will honorably compete for the credit of conveying the mails and passengers in such close connection with these expedited schedules, that they may derive all the advantages to be obtained by the rapid rate of travel now provided through to New-Orleans. [Wash. Republic.

SCHEDULE OF DEPARTURES AND ARRIVALS-NEW-YORK DEPARTURES — New-York, 5† P. M., and 0 A. M.; Philadelphia, 10† P. M. and 2 P. M., Baltimore, 4† A. M. and 6† P. M.; Washington, 7 A. M. and 9 P. M.; Richmond, 5 P. M. and 7† A. M.; Petersbarg, 4 P. M. and 9† A. M.; Weldon, 11 P. M. and 1† P. M.; Charleston, 8 A. M. and 11 A. M.; December 1 to June 1.—Augusta, 4† P. M., do. 6 A. M.; Atlanta, 4 A. M., do. 6† P. M.; West Point, 5 P. M., do. 7† A. M.; Montgomery, 1† A. M.; Mobile, 2 P. M. 5 P. M., do ? A M.; Montgomery, 1† A. M.; Mobile, 2 P. M.

June 1 to December 1.—Augusta, 5 P. M.; Atlanta, 4† A. M.; West Point, 6 P. M.; Montgomery, 4 A.

M.; Mobile, 4 P. M.;

ARRIVALS — Philadelphia, 10 P. M. and 1 P. M.;

Baitimore, 4 A. M. and 6 P. M.; Washington, 6 A.

M. and 8 P. M.; Richmond, 4 P. M. and 6 A. M.

Petersburg, 64 P. M. and 9 A. M.; Weldon, 10† P.

M. and 1 P. M.; Willimgton, 9 A. M. and 9† P. M.

December 1 to June 1.—Atlanta, 3† A. M., do, 6 P. M.;

West Point, 4† P. M.; do, 7 A. M.; Montgomery, 12 night, do, 2† P. M.; Mobile, 1† P. M.; New-Orleans, 10 A. M.; June 1 to December 1 Atlanta, 4 A. M.

June 1 to December 1 - Atlanta, 4 A.M.; West Point, 5 P.M.; Montgomery, 14 A.M.; Mobile, 4 P.M.; New-Orleans, 12 M. P. M., New-Officans, 12 M.

New ORLEANS TO NEW-YORE.

DEFARTURES — December 1 to June 1. — New-Orleans, 2 P. M., Mobile, 10‡ A M., Montgomery, 12 night, do. 7‡ A. M.; West Point, 7‡ A. M.; do. 6 P. M.;

Atlanta, S P. M., do. 6 A. M.; Augusta, 8 A. M. do. 10 A M., June 1 to December 1 - New Orleans, 12 M., Mobile, 8 A. M., Montgomery, 10 P. M. West Point, 6 A M. Atlanta, 64 P. M. Augusta, 7 A. M. Charleston, 4 P. M. Wilmington, 8 A. M. and 2 P. M. Weldon, 34 P. M. and 11 P. M. Petersburg, 44 A. M. and 7 P. M. Richmond, 9 P. M. and 7 A. M. Washington, 6 A. M. and 4 P. M. Balitmore, 84 A. M. and 64 P. M. Philadelphia, 2 P. M. and 13t at night.

A mand of P. M., Philadelphia, 2 P. M. and 12t at night.

ABRIVALS—December 1 to June 1 — Mobile, 10 A M., Montgomery, 10t P. M., West Point 7 A M., do. 2t P. M., Atlanta, 7t P. M., do. 5 A. M., Augusta, 6t A. M., do. 6 P. M., June 1 to December 1 — Mobile, 8 A M., Montgomery, 8 P. M., West Point, 5 A. M., Atlanta, 6 P. M., Augusta, 5 A M.

Charleston, 3 P. M., do. 4 P. M., Weldon, 2 P. M., and 10 P. M., Petersburg, 6t P. M., and 3t A. M., Richmond, 6 A. M., and 8t P. M.; Washington, 5t A. M. and 3t P. M., Baltimore, 8 A. M. and 6 P. M., Philadelphia, 1 P. M., and 12 at night; New-York, 6t P. M., and 5 A. M.

FROM WASHINGTON .- The National Intelligencer publishes a long memorial from certain citizens of California now in Washington, setting forth the wants of that young State. KOSSUTH IN OHIO.

SPEECH TO THE PEOPLE OF CINCINNATI.

(REPORTED FOR THE NEW-YORK TRIBUNE.)

The following Speech to the People of Cincinnati was delivered by Kossurn on Friday, February 13, 1852, in the Court-st. Market space, in reply to Hon. CALEB B. SMITH, who addressed him on the part of the People: Sin: Before I answer you, let me look

over this spirited ocean of men, that I may deeply mpress upon my mind the recollection of how those ook, who, almost within a wink of the eye, transformed the wilderness of a primitive forest into an mmense city, of which there exists a prediction that "by the year of our Lord 2000 it will be the greatest city in the world." The West! the West! the region of the Father of

Rivers! there thou canst see the cradle of a new. born humanity. So I was told by the learned expounders of descriptive geography, who believe that they know the world, because they have seen it on the map and glanced at it through spectacles, the concavity of which reduces the gigantic limbs of an elephant to the modest proportions of a fies.

The West a cradle! Why! A cradle is the sleep ing place of a child, wrapped in swaddling clothes and crying for the mother's milk.

People of Cincinnati! Are you that child, which, awaking in an unwatched moment, liberated his little tender hands from under the swaddling band, and stretching them out in unwonted comfort, swept away, by his left arm, the primitive forest, planted by the Lord on creation's dawn, and raised by its right hand this mighty metropolis! Why, if that be your childhood's pastime work, I am awed by the presentiment of your manhood's task, because it proach to Omnipotence, and that people have, before which I bow with deep respect, which created this rich city, and changed the native woods of the red man into a flourishing seat of Christian civilization and civilized Christianity, and into a busy workshop of science and art, of industry and widely spread commerce, and performed this change, not like the drop which, by falling incessantly through centuries, digs a gulf where a mountain stood, but performed it suddenly, within the turn of the hand, like a magician—that people achieved a prouder work than the giants of old, who dared to heap Mount Ossa upon Pelion. But excuse me, the comparison is bad. Those giants of old heaped mountain upon mountain with the implous design to storm the Heaven. You transformed the wilderness of the West into the dwelling place of an emigniened, industricus, intelligent, Christian community, that it might flourish a living monument of the wonderful bounty of Divine Providence—a temple of freedom which giorifies God and bids oppressed humanity to hope. And yet, when I look upon you, citizens of Cincinnati, I see no race of giants astonishing by uncommon wame. I see men such as I am wont to see since I have lived, and I have lived almost long enough to have seen Cincinnati a small hamlet composed of some modest log houses, separated by dense woods, where savage beasts and savage Indians lucked about the lonely settlers, who, as the legend of Jacob Wetzel and his faithful deg tells, had to wrestle for life when they left their poor abode. What is the key of the rapid, woncerful change! Who is the hero of your history, who founced your giorious city, as the glorious cities of old were founced by horoes whom posterity mountain stood, but performed it suddenly, within tory, who founced your glorious city, as the glorious cities of old were founced by heroes whom posterity

called demi-gods, and whose names survived their work by thousands of years! Who is the here who stood godfather at the birth of the Queen of the West! I looked to history and found not his name. But instead of one mortal man's renowned name, I find in the records of your city's history an immortal being's name—and that is, "The People"—and that name sparkles with the luster of a life-imparting flame, and that flame is Liberty. Freedom, regulated by wise institutions, based upon the great principle of National Independence and Self Government. This is the magical rod by which the great enchanter, the People, has achieved this wonderful work.

Sir, there is a mighty change going on in the development of Humanity. Formerly, things were done by great men whose names stand in history like milestones, marking the march of Mankind on the highway of Progress. It was Mankind which marched, and still it passed unnoticed and unknown. It was not Maskind that history recorded, but the milestones, and called them great men. The lefty frame of individual greatness overshadowed the People, ready to fellow, but not prepared to go without being lead. Humanity and its progress were absorbed by individualities, because the People which stood low in the valley got giddy by looking up to the mountain's top, where its leaders stood. It was the age of chilchood for nations; and children have not the consciousness of their own strength. He who has not tried to walk by himself climps to the leading strings as to a necessity, and takes it for a benefit to be led. But the leaders of nations changed soon into kings. Ambition claimed as a right what ment had gained as a free offering. Arropance succeeded to greatness, and out of the childish attachment for received benefit, the duty of blind obedience was framed by the iron hand of violence, and by the craft of impicus hypocrisy, degrading everything held for holy by men—recigion itself—to a tool of oppression on earth. It was the era of uncontroverted despotism, which, with sacri-Sir, there is a mighty change going on in the develitself—to a tool of oppression on earth. It was the era of uncontroversed despotism, which, with sacrilous arrogance, claimed the title of divine right

era of uncontroperied despotism, which, with sacrilegious arrogance, claimed the title of divine right,
and Mankind advanced slowly in progress, because
it was not conscious of its own aim. Oppression
was taken for a gloomy doom of Destiny.

The scene has changed. Nations have become
conscious of their right and destiny; and they will
tolerate no masters, nor will they suffer oppression
more. The spirit of freedom moves through the
air.—and remember that you are morally responsible
for it, because it is your glorious struggle for independence which was the first upheaving of manking's
heart, roused to self-conscious life. And still, the
gloriously achieved national independence of America, together with all the blessings of nature's virginal vitality, would never have succeeded to
achieve this woncerful development which we see,
it you had employed your conquered national independence but to take a new master for the old one
And mark; well, gentlemen, a nation may have a
master, even if it has no king. A nation may be
called a Republic, and yet not be free. Wherever
centralization exists, there the nation has either sold
or lent—sither alienated or delegated its sovereignty; and wherever this is done, the nation has a master.—and he who has a master is of course not has and wherever this is done, the nation has a mas ty, and wherever this is done, the nation has a master,—and he who has a master, is of course not his own master. Power may be centralized in many; the centralization, by and bye, will be concentrated in two, as in ancient Venice—or in one, as in France at the time of the "Uncle," some 40 years ago, now again when the "Nephew" has his bloody turn for a day.

Yes, gentlemen, if that generation of devoted pa triots who achieved the independence of the Unite States had but changed the old master for anew one with the name of an Emperor, of a King, or of a with the name of an Emperor, of a King, or of an ominipotent President, your country were now just romething like Brazii, or Mexico, or the Republics of South America—all of them independent, as you know, and all except Brazil even Republics, and all rich with nature's blessings, and offering a new anome to those who fly from the oppression of the Old World, and yet all of them old before they were young, and decrept before they were strong. Had the founders of your country's independence followed this direction, which led the rest of America astray, Cinninati would have been a hamlet yet, as it was in Jacob Wetzel's time; and Onto, instead of being a first-rate star in the constellation of your Republic, would have been an appendage of neighboring Eastern States, a not yet explored desert, marked in the maps of America only by lines of northern latitude and western longitude. The people a real sovereign your institutions securing renl freedom, because founced upon the principle of self-government, and union to secure national independence and the position of a power on earth—and all together having no master but God; omnipotence not vested many man, in any assembly, and an open field to every honest exertion because civil, political and religious liberty is the common benefit to all, not limited but by itself—that is, by the urseen but not unfeit influence of self-given law; that is the key of that living wonder which spreads before my eyes. ident, your country were

by itself—that is, by the urseen but not unfeit influence of self-given law; that is the key of that living wonder which spreads before my eyes.

Gettlemen, let me recall to your memory a curious fact. It is just one hundred years ago that the first trading-house upon the Great Miami, was built by a saring English adventurer in the desart, since called Larng's Store, then the territories of the Troightives Indians. The trade house was destroyed by Frenchmen, who possessed then a whole world on the Continent of America. Well, 24 years later. France aided your America in its struggle for independence, and oh! feel not offended in your proud yower of to-day, when I say, that independence would then not have been achieved without the aid of France. Since that time France has been twice a Republic, and has changed its Constitution thirteen times; and though thirty-six millions strong, it has lost every foot of land on the Continent of America, and at home it lies prostrated beneath the feet of the most inglorious usurper who ever dards of america, and at home it lies prostrated beneath the feet of the most inglorious usurper who ever dards of america, and are the most inglorious usurper who ever dards of america, and are provided to the second of the common keeping the amount of the truins of a tradiir_house, into a mighty common wealth of two-milions, free and happy men, who shoul out with a voice like the thunder-storm to the despots of the Old Worth—"Ye shall stop in your ambitious way, before the power of freedom, ready to protect the common laws of all humanity."

What a glorious triumph of your institutions over the principle of Centralized Government. Oh! may all the generations yet unborn, and all the millions who will yet gather in this new world of the West, which will soon weigh with decisive weight in the scale of the Union, where all the West weighed

nothing fifty years ago. May they all ever and ever remember the high instruction which the Almighty has revealed in this parallel of different results. Sir. you say that Ohio can show no battle-fields connected with recollections of your own giornous Revolution. Let me answer that the whole West is a nonument and Cheriman the fair cornice of it. If your eastern sister States have instructed the world how ranges precome independent and free, the world how nations become independent and free, i West shows to the world what can become a nati West shows to the world what can become a nation once independent and really free. Allow me to state that by standing such an instructive example before the world, you exercise the most effective revolutionary propaganda; because, if the misresult of French Revolutions discouraged the nations from shaking off the oppressor's voke, your victory, and still more your unparalleled prosperity, has encouraged oppressed nations to dare what you dared. Egotists and hypocrites may say that you are not responsible for it, and it may be true; you are not responsible before a tribunal, but you are sufficiently free not to feel offended by a true word, therefore I say—you are responsible before your own conscience because your example having started a new doctrine, the teacher of a new doctrine is morally obliged not to forsake his docume when assailed in his disciples. Our Savior has not said to his Disciples do as I have taught ye, and look to how ye succeed, but he said unto them— Do as I have taught ye, and I will be with ye." Well, some may tell me, the nations that in Europe groan under an oppression by far heavier than that which caused America tipes some may tell me, that we have hat to do.

the nations that in Europe groan under an oppression by far heavier than that which caused America to rise—some may tell me that we have but to do what America did.

Please to consider—Is Hungary not precisely doing what America did! We have risen and will rise.—Italy, Germary, France and Poland have risen and will rise to effect their national independence and liberty. We have fought and will fight just as America has fought—but, if for doing so for what your nation did, we neet your approbation, you cannot with hold your approbation from us when we do entirely what your nation did. And what is it your nation did! It sent to Europe and asked diplomatic support and material and. Why, is it not just the same that I do here! Am! not wan!ering from city to city, from town to town, pleading the cause of oppressed nations, and claiming that support and that aid which, in the hour of its need, your nation claimed.

And on, let me ask, are the oppressed nations of Europe not entitled to the expectation that the sovereign people of a sowerful Republic will do so much for freedom in Europe, as a King did from Europe for the freedom of America. Are you less powerful than that King was who sent you money and arms and men to fight your battles, and a mighty fleet to keep your enemy from sending new armies against you! No, you are by far more powerful than that King was. Is Europe more distant from America to you, than America was from Europe to that King! No, it is nearer, the steam engine, that powerful Democrat, has compressed the distance of three months into the distance of ten days.

Twenty years ago you required fourteen days to go to Cleveland now the Democrat sweeps you over in one day.

Would the United States by aiding the cause of Procession and processed to the process.

over in one day.

Would the United States by aiding the cause of Would the United States by aiding the cause of Freedom in Europe expose themselves to a greater, or even such danger as the King of France exposed his country to by aiding the United States in their struggle for independence! No, absolutely no. By aiding America that King exposed the coasts of his country to the darger of daily invasion from neighboring England, but if you aid my nation, and by her all those who now suffer oppression from Russian preponderance, everything in the world is more possible; it is more pessible to see the Ohio flowing up to Pittsburgh, than to see your Country exposed to an invasion of the Russian. That apprehension would be riduculous. Then tell me from that honest heart which is the people's privilege to have, is our cause in Europe not entitled to expect that the Republic of the United States will, without any danger for themselves, do so much for European freedom as a King of France, with much of danger to himself, for the freedom of the United States!

Ves, but I am answered; the King of France sided you out of interest, because he desired to weaken

Yes, but I am answered: the King of France aided you out of interest, because he sesired to weaken England, but you have no interest to aid Hungary. How so! No interest! I believe Republican hearts are generous enough to sympathize with the cause of freedom even without interest, for liberty's sake. But I avail myself of your kind indulgence, boldly to state that you have more vitailinerest in the cause of freedom in Europe than the King of France had in your country's cause. He had the interest of harted against England—you have the interest of your present prosperity and your future security. Yes, Sir, the United States are comprised within the boundaries of the same civilization with Europe—same civilization will I say—same future—same destiny. The struggle which we have to fight is the decisive struggle of two opposite principles—Absolution of National Sovereignty. The victorious principles—Absolutism or National Sovereignty. The victorious principle will rule within the boundaries of Christian civilization on both sides of the Atlantic, and if not being aided by you we are crushed, Absolutism will prevail over Europe, and with all the power of Europe it will bring the denser beareto you.

by you we are crushed. Absolutism will prevant over Europe, and with all the power of Europe it will bring the danger home to you.

"How so?" I see the question in your eyes. I will tell you. Firstly: You will be excluded from the market of Europe. Instead of the millions of bushels which now go vearly to Europe from the Valley of the Ohio and Mississippi—gentlemen of the farm and of the trade, be pleased to mark—not a single bushel will go from the West to Europe. Russis requires the market for its own flour, and wheat, and lard, and bacon, which your competition has already beaten in the European market, and threatens to beat every year more; and, besides, absolutistical Russia cannot like to meet in Europe the principle of American Republicanism. And Russis will be master of Europe, free to dispose with as it wills, and when, by want of markets, your prosperity will be checked—your development stopped—embarraisment felt in commerce, and uneasiness in the farms—then the secret diplomacy of Russis European Absolutism will step in with money and intrigues, and foster your domestic dissensions, flatter and support those who would like to shake the glorious building of your Union (which may God forever preserve): and while it thus weakens you by discord, you will see established by absolutistical influence a monarchy here, a menarchy there, on the Continent of America—in Mexico—in Central—in Southern Amearchy here, a menarchy there, on the Continent of America—in Mexico—in Central—in Southern America—and a battery directed from Cuba to the Missisppt's mouth, and out of the Sandwich Islands a barrier made against you on the Pacific! And all this thus prepared in a moment of domestic discord, fostered skillfully to the exsitement of passion, just steps in a little foreign war, and there you are in danger of your own future—your own existence—and the Ohio may yet see Cossacks.

"Well we will fight then," you say, with the proud conscioueness of your strength. Of course you will—you must, but remember you will have to fight, surrounned by enemies, weakened by discord, standing forsaken, single-handed, alone, against the whole world. What is better! not to have your house burning, or to have the pleasure to quench

whole world. What is better? not to have your house burning, or to have the pleasure to quench the flame consuming it. Believe me, against that fire you will find no insurance bank in the world.

I may, therefore, be permitted to ask, have we no reason to expect that aid from your country which your country once received from Europe! And yet we do not expect—we do not ask so much—we are men enough to fight our own battles by ourselves. All we ask is, proclaim the law of nations and be ready to protect! It against the pirates with crowns—urge that the neutrality law of 1818 be recalled in respect to that power which violates the law of nations. Give some material aid, by forming associations of friends of Hungary, and by taking the bonds of the Hungarian loan render my dear faiberland under obligations of everlasting gratitude, by proving that the creating apirit of the people of the West, which converted a wilderness into a powerful commonwealth within the turn of a hand, is practical and energetic alike when it enlists its

powerful commonwealth within the turn of a hand, is practical and energetic alike when it enlists its sympathy to support the great principle of freedom against despotism. It will be the duty of our gratitude to check Russian amoition by our manly breast that it may not overflow the world, endangering your own future, upon which humanity looks as to a gusting star on mankinds sky.

Sir, you were pleased to assure me of the genercus sympathy of Cincinnati. I saw it, Sir, on the day of my arrival, powerful, like the voice of the Lerd in a thunder-storm. My sick heart felt refreshed by it, like nature on a sultry summer day by lightning and rain. I thank you most fervently for it. Let me hope that the refreshed nature of your generous hearts will prove rich in harvest for freedom's sake, and you will raise the Metropolis of the West to the broud station of the Metropolis of Freedom's Earth.

SEECH TO THE CLERGY OF CINCINNATI.

From the Cleveland Democrat.

Gov. Kossuth met the Clergymen of the City of Cincinnati, in the ladies' parlor, at the Burnet House, on Friday morning, Feb. 13, 1852-He was introduced by A. S. Sullivan, Esq.; Rev-Mr. Fisher, of the Second Presbyterian Church, addressed him in behalf of the Ministers, and Kossuth replied as follows:

REVEREND GENTLEMEN: Permit me, in a plain

manner, but with heartfelt sentiments, to express my humble thanks for the benefit you have been pleased to bestow on the present occasion, upon the cause which I represent. I thank you, gentlemen, for your welcome, as men. I am conscious of no personal merit; but even if that thought could enter my mind, I fully know that men like you would never bestow whatever approbation-would never give the canction of their opinion to individual respect, but only to principles. Those great men whom you mentioned, out of the history of your gleriously achieved independence, need not rise out of their graves to shine like stars on the sky of mankind's destiny. Divine Providence very often makes use of humble instrumentalities, and it is not any intellectual or moral power of my humble self, but circumstances, which have raised those principles I have the honor to represent-I would almost say, to an importance which those princip have yet seidom practically obtained in history : cause I believe that out of the wavering agriculture the destinies of mankind, the time is now develo

when it will-it must be decided, for all those lands

when it will—it must be decided, for all those lands which lie within the boundaries of civilization, which principles shall rule; and those principles upon which are founded the glory and happinsss of the United States, have proved their fidelity in a far more extablished, it is apparent, it is manifest, that according to the content of the content

seives, and to do to ethers as we would that others should do to us.

I thank you, reverend gentleman for the welcome year gave me as Protesiant clergymen, and in that respect, I resrectully recombened the cause of my poor down trodden country to your pracers and your sympathy, because Protesiants min Haggary is now entirely trodden down, quite as much as civil and political liberty. It was our high gradication and Baspiness as Protesiants in Huggary to have enjoyed, even under the form of the government of the House of Austria, the soif government of our Church and our schools. Now, that is taken entirely out of our hards. The sacred interests of Protestantism in Huggary are made subservicut to oppressive policy, by being ruled no more by the Church liberly, but by an aboutistical your entirely, which recognizes no law, no justice, but having before its eyes only the arm of its ambition rules Church and State, and everything in this unbapty country, by unrestricted martial law. I thank you for the welcome which you gave me as American clergymen—I shank you as a European exile.

There is in the fact a high meaning for me. You have

enument, which recognizes no law, no justice, out naving before its eyes only the arm of its ambition, raise Church and State, and everything in this unhappy country, by unrestricted martial law. I thank you for the welcome which you gave me as American clergymen—I shank you as European saile.

There is in this fact a high meaning for me. You have been pleased to remark, and it is true, that a free Gaspel reduces a free ministry, can only be permanently anoved under a free civil government. While a free Gaspel reduces a possible of the civil government. While a free Gaspel reduces a possible of the civil government of the first price of the development of the country of the fact of the reduces in the first price of the development of the distinct from the price of the first price of the world as a ministry of the first price of the first price of the world as a ministry of the first price of t

Christian religion, given to the cause of my country, is not only a great consolation in every misfortune, but an eacurasement to protect that cause which you, by the sanction of your religious conviction, pronounce to be just.

Let me therefore entreat you, gentlemen, to beslow your action, your prayers, and that which in the Gospell is connected with prayers—watchfulness, upon my country is cause. It is not without design that I mention this word watchfulness, because it would be not appropriate for me to speak whatever word might excite mere passon. I rely upon principles in their plainness, and make no appeal to blind syctiement; but I may be permitted to throw out the hint that in certain quarters, even the word religion is employed as a tool against that cause which you pronounced to be just, and therefore even when merely as a term, has trecked givet cause. I may be permitted to claim from Ministers of the Church—from Protestant Clergymea—from American Protestant Clergymea—that they will and only pray for that cause, but also be watchful against that misses—that abuse of religion, for the oppression of a just cause. (As palanes).

To be sure, I rely upon the moral influe nee of your institutions, and of your country's prodigious example, but as you have influeded, war itself, under certain circumstance, is the approved instrumentality of Providence. Let or in respect to that moral influence, make one single remark. You have stated that, as American Clergymen, you esterism the conviction that a free gospel can only be permanently enjoyed mider a free civil government. Now, what is a free Gospel! The triumph of the Gospel is of covers founded upon the moral influence of the truths which are deposited by Divine Providence in the help scriptures; and no influence can be more powerful thun that of the ruth which God himself has revealed; and ettil you say that for the permanent approach to the hour of making in the permanent of the government of this powerful influence, the fifth of the moral influence of the

nce more recommend the principles invelved in the which I plead, and, let me add, to your Christian

Sympathy for Hungary-North American Phalanz.

At a meeting of the Members of the NORTH AMERICAN PHALANX, held on their Domain, (near Red Bank, N. J.,) on the evening of Dec. 21, the following resolutions were unanimously passed .

Resolved, That we accept most heartily, and without reserve, the principles and policy advocated by Louis Kossurn. Governor of Hungary, in his speech at the Municipal Banquet in New-York City.

Resolved, That we commence the performance of the duties resulting from such acceptance, by contributing our mite to the Fund for the Cause of Hungary.

A Committee was then appointed to receive subscriptions, and was instructed to pay over the money to the proper body in New-York as a free gift-or, rather, with the understanding that Hungary, in the day of her prosperity, shall re-

pay by contributing to whatever struggling The Cash Subscriptions amounted to ... 856 98 Besides which there were subscribed several shares of the Capital Stock of The N. A. Phalanx, which were sold for...... 53 32

> The following address was also adopted. N. R. FRENCH, Chairman of Com. E. GUILLAUDEN, Jr., Secretary.

ADDRESS.
Governor of Hungary: Representative of struggling Humanity!—we add to the swelling voice of the Nation, our word of warm welcome. In the popular acceptance of your exposition of International Law, we heartily join; to the embodiment and measure of the Nation's sympathy and good will, we gladly add our contribution.

measure of the Nation's sympathy and good will, we gladly acd our contribution.

States may have their changing policies, society its varying condition, and, as Governor of Hungary, you may represent any incidental phase of policy or condition. But whatever policy be a opted, whatever interest may have obtained, whatever so cial condition may exist, uncerving all these and unvarying through rolling ages, remain the suontry of human beings, based on the universal stness of thirgs as a perpetual ground work. And humanity, using such instrumentalities as it may, adopting such policies as it must, struggles onward, displacing wrongs and institutions are fast, and the stringent force of old institutions will permit. And however much or little we may be interested in any state of facts which you as Governor of Hungary, may represent little we may be interested in any state of facts which you, as Governor of Hungary, may represent it is Kossuth—the mouth-piece and representance of humanity, struggling to institute a measure of its Divinely-endowed rights, that mainly commisses our reverence, our sympathies, and our mite of materials.

We recognize the necessity in Europe of instituwe recognize the necessive in Europe of nating-ting political rights as a condition of further pro-gress. It is a great gain that a people, as we in Americado in our bill of rights, assert their right as life, hiberty, and the pursuit of happiness." It is al-so a great practical advance, when a people, as we have done, take their affairs into their own hunds, have done, take their affairs into their own hands, and in the organic law of the State, assert their right of elect their legislators and their administrators of law. The institution of these public or general rights goes far toward meeting human want, but does not suffice fully. We need to make this abstract right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, a practical possession. Without this the S are has no soundness; yet this is what no State can pretend to have done.

have cone.
Our laws mainly respect possessions: they gua-Our laws mainly respect possessions: they guaantee the rights of property principally; and the failure to guarantee man's other rights is nearly equivalent to a denial of them. For the strong and the fortunate, backed by the force of existing institution,
monopolize the best portions of the land, the principal sources of revenue, and the principal sears of
culture; and the weaker many are more or less dafranchised, more or less reduced to dependence and
servitude. Inasmuch as there are all degrees of heman capacity and success, so we have all possible
cenditions of human life, from that of the most refined circles and largest possessions, down to attermost depths of want, from which men, women and
chidren would be gainers by exchanging conditions
with any decently cared for brute; and all the
from the practical denial of all right but that of
might.

might.

Yes, flowing from our actual civilization, we have our penalties, our prisons, our gibbets, as regularly as we do our legislatures, our judiciary, our exective: we have our pauper-houses, and all forms of beggary, all forms of most pinching destitution, we have the most iniquitous dens of poliution, we have violence, disloyaity, outlawry, as constant members of the social state, as are our institutions of property, the family, and the Church. We have every degree of the social state, as are our institutions of property, the family, and the Church. We have every degree of assumption, fraud and oppression, and consequently every form of submission, deprivation and servitude. Because from this absorption of the sources of prosperity by the stronger and more successful, the weaker and less successful make concessions as they must, and presently that which should be an assured right is craved and denied, or exarted as a boon. This goes on, and step by the should be an assured right is craved and denied, or grarted as a boon. This goes on, and step by step, the lowest depths of humilation are sounded. Yes, Man, instead of establishing relations of justice, dares to insult his equal fellow-man with alms, yes, has the audacity to offer as a favor to his equal fel-low man, the opportunity and pay for his personal revices. And what can the poor outcast do be give the last sign of his degradation by accepting alms? What can the disfranchised dependent do, but outwardly remounce his manhood, and accept a but outwardly renounce his manhood, and accept a servitude more humilating than any forced chain slavery, because he consents to it, selling his service to the chance master of the occasion who bid

slavery, because he consents to it sening as service to the chance master of the occasion who bids the highest?

Yes, Man, instead of doing justice integrally and from the ourset, begins with the gentlest assumptions, and ends with the most frightful wrongs. Yes, from this denial of right in the most frightg particulars grow up institutions of monstrous oppression and of gigantic governmental proportions. Institutions that are heaps of off-repeated inquiry, that are reddened with the blood of generations of human beings, institutions which engender the spirit of violence, which foster war, institutions under which, till very recently. Man's highest achievements have been to organize destruction, under which Man still seeks to perfect the arts of destruction; institutions which stimulate your bonapartes, your Alexanders, and the like, to go forthlike destroying angels, laying waste cities, obliterating nations, blighting and blackening the fair face of Nature, and undoing the work of conturies in as many years; when, it Man's entire right had been hastituted, this same force of destroyer and destroyed would have been applied to recitothing the hill sides with orchards, the hill-tops with forests, to draining and clearing our minimaling marshes, to leading waters through and spreading verdure over bistering desserts, to opening ways of communication; if a word, if the labors of armies through all time had been devoted to culture and creative art, instead of to human destruction, the face of the whole habitto human destruction, the face of the whole habb-able globe would now be fruitful orchards and ga-dens, and the Arts and Culture of a higher civiliza-tion than we have any examples of could have been introduced among all people. But look at the hid-cous contrast!

Yes, from not recognizing other rights than that of the strongest, these immense institutions of wrong have almost unconquerable force, and against which the best spirits of earth have even protested, against some of which, almost in our own day, a Washington struck with the whole energy of his being against some of which, almost in our own day, a Washington struck with the whole energy of his being against some of which, at this hour, a Koesuth is moving half the civilized world against the other half.

Is it not plain then, that to establish the reign of the content and conditions are not being against the other half.

peace on earth and good will among men, we need a new declaration—a declaration of Social and Pri-vate Rights, and new Civil and Social Institutions,

vate Rights, and new Civil and social institution, corresponding therewith!

For every human being orn into the State is quite sure to tecome the subject of law, but not sure, as we see, to be guaranteed the possession of his rights are a human being. His Maker endows him with wants and capacities, and sends him forth among his fellows with a special claim upon their among his fellows with a special claim upon their among his fellows with a special claim upon them equivilegald to his common rights, with a special message of love, or wisdom, or work of some sort; and these common wants are a measure of his common rights, and his special capacities are an intimation of his work, and both are important, yes, necessary, that the entire Word of God to Humanity be spoken. And society laifs of its first duties, of its highest needs, if it fail to insultate by organic law, carried out into the daily relations of life, the means of putting every soul of man into full possession of his rights as man.

means of putting every soul of man into full possession of his rights as man.

Believing before God and men, that a guarantee of Human Brotherhood, is necessary to further man development, we have adopted the following formula or basis of social organization: Joint Stock Property, Cooperative Labor, Equitable Distribution of Profits, Mutual Guarantees, Association of Families, Integral Education, Honora according to Usefulness, Unity of Interests. And we are deing our endeavors to establish corresponding institutions.

ing our endeavors to establish corresponding tuttots.
You will perceive that we would institute unity of interests in place of present antagonisms among men, that we recognize the family, and would institute the means of preserving its integrity, that we recognize the individual and individual property, and we would institute the means which shall guarantee to every soul, the possession of its just rights of property, of culture in all forms of gracefulness and usefulness, and of social position according to merits.

merits.

But we need not comment at length upon our declaration of principles, nor upon our efforts to establish rights in the form of social institutions which shall guarantee, with the whole force of society, the personal possession thereof. A just consideration of the principles involved, will make plain their significance and force. Our main object in this address, is that after you shall have acquired for your countrymen, and hence also for a large portion of the people of Europe, the rights of self-government, as we are inspired to believe you will, to intimate to you that your work is not yet done to indicate, as we have attempted to do, that other rights than those off election are to be provided for to ask of you—nay, in the name of a common humanity to demand that you consider the means of establishing every human being in his or her integral right; and thus—we believe before heaven—only thus, have done smally, with this six thousand years of brutal, disgraceful marring of God's fairest works.

We believe nevertheless, that in the progress of the human race under existing conditions, that aday must come, when the spirit of conservatism and that of progression,—when ancient wrong and newly awakened right,—when arbitrary force and organic growth must have a fair field, strictly on the ground of principle, involving, as parties to the contest, the whole civilized world. The signs of the times seem to indicate that such a struggle has fairly commenced; a struggle in which none can finally remain neutral; one in which parties are now taking sides; and whether the strife be long or short, when the right battles be favorable or unfavorable to the cause of progress, the final issue cannot be doubtful.

You, and we, may be engulphed in the whirt of You, and we, may be engulphed in the whirt of

You, and we, may be engulphed in the whirl of You, and we, may be engulphed in the whirl of changing fortunes, but it is idle to think of final failure, because the race must grow; and if old institute.